1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

583 axes, and other implements. If the young man is
585 unable to produce these, they take the girl back to her own camp, but cannot prevent her from returning to her betrothed. The process is then repeated. The youth exhorts his betrothed to return to her own camp until he can find the necessary wealth, but if she insists on staying with him, her relatives will leave her and the matter will be settled later. The girl builds a house, and the two live together. There is no ceremony, although the youth's band will, if possible, arrange a feast and dance to celebrate the event. The marriage contract, such as it is, is essentially between the two bands concerned.

583 Marriage by exchange, by which two hunting bands exchange girls, has its complications. The girl received replaces the girl given, not only in her capacity for work but as a child bearer. If either girl falls short in these respects, the double union is nullified. Similarly, if either of
• [586] the parties willfully brings about the dissolution of one marriage, the contract is void, thus possibly breaking up the other perfectly happy and fertile union. This dissolution can be avoided either by making another exchange or by substituting a payment.

595 Marriage by exchange is not conducive to the practice of polygyny, and Schebesta (1952, 244) estimates that 6 per cent of Mbuti marriages are polygynous; 10 per cent, in the border re-

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and may devote his time to his bride. He further alleges that the young couple do not exhibit their affection in public, but that one may conclude from various signs that mutual affection continues even in advanced age. Jealousy, however, often comes into the open, and women are particularly suspicious of their husbands. The usual factors leading to the disruption of a marriage are cited as disagreement over the upbringing of the children, idleness of either party, the disputatious nature of the women, or the irascibility of the men.

Sexual relations are maintained during menstruation; Schebesta mentions the fact that the only restriction is during the final stage of pregnancy and for several months following childbirth. In some regions, he adds, there is also a restriction on sexual intercourse between the husband and any woman following the birth of a child to his wife. Such a statement evidently implies an acceptance of extramarital intercourse in other regions, yet he also claims that adultery is considered as a moral transgression offending the divinity; when committed with a married woman, it is criminal. Some allowance is made for a man who cannot have relations with his wife (as during a period of sex taboo); intercourse with an unmarried woman is then generally not considered as adultery. An itching body and birth of twins are, among some

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1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
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837 F45 827 Mbuti, considered as signs that adultery has taken place. An offended wife has the right to leave her husband; an offended husband may chastise his wife and attack his rival, possibly leading to a feud between two bands. If he finds his wife *in flagrante delicto*, he has the right to kill her lover. However, Schebesta cites no case histories.

Separation

• 586 A husband's justification for separation is based on the constant infidelity of the wife, her sterility, her selfishness leading to neglect of her husband, sickness, or suspicion of sorcery. On the woman's side, separation is justified by ill treatment by her husband, neglect of his hunting duties, and his infidelity. Separation is achieved simply by each band's reclaiming the daughter it gave in exchange, or effecting compensation. It does not necessarily involve hostility between the two bands, in which case the children may remain with their father, without their mother's becoming ostracized from the community. Also, a child may remain with its mother, even if she returns to her own band or remarries into another. Only when a child marries is there a necessity to settle the question of its economic allegiance.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[NET HUNTERS]

After marriage the affection between the young husband and his bride is no less open than before marriage. An estimation of any degree of affection necessarily depends on one's own attitude, but Schebesta's description of "passion" and "ardor" would hardly be applicable to the net-hunting Mbuti; "determination" would perhaps describe the situation better. Initial flirtations that lead to marriage openly change in character from relations on a purely sexual basis to a more intimate relationship of companionship, which is manifest by the way young grooms behave toward their brides and even older men to their wives.

Divorce

Divorce is achieved as informally as marriage, whether the union dissolved involves just the one or two bands. It is usually initiated, says Putnam (1948, 337), by the woman's simply packing her household goods into her basket and leaving with her children. In such a case, the sons, when old enough, return to their father and the daughters remain with their mother until married. Such a divorce may well upset the complementary marriage if it is a marriage by exchange. Such a dispute almost certainly involves the village patrons, who may finally be called upon to settle it between themselves, the patron of the happily married Mbuti making a compensatory payment to the patron claiming the return of that Mbuti's bride.

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[NET HUNTERS]

[p.222-A]

595 Polygyny exists but is almost as incon-
587 siderable as among the archers. It sometimes
• [586] comes about through the very informality of divorce. A husband who has been deserted, having made every effort to retrieve his wife, seeks another. After remarrying in this way, he may find that he still misses his old companion and will try to woo her back, or she may return of her own accord. There is no information as to the relationship between the two wives, except that they have separate huts and that there is no open friction.

Widowhood

589 Information on widowhood, though not given in detail by Putnam, seems to correspond to the general information given by Schebesta for the archers. Widows tend to remain in their late husbands' band and are cared for by their children unless they remarry.
589 Aged widowers are similarly provided for. But
887 even widows and widowers too old to remarry can play a useful economic role by attending to various chores in camp when the entire band is out hunting, helping in the constant manufacture of *nkusa* twine and barkcloth, and by looking after small children.

3: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1962 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

585 Pygmy wedding the villagers shrugged their shoulders and forgot to notify Akidinimba. So on the appointed day, when the young bride-to-be had been painted and richly oiled, she set off, weeping hard, to find, when she arrived, no sign of Atete, no indication of any of the promised preparations for a wedding, and nobody who had the least idea when Atete might be back. Akidinimba brightened up at once and suggested returning to Epulu. But having got that far, her relatives decided to stay. Besides, this was Ngoma's village and they could be sure of being fed well.

585 An elderly village woman swept out a dark and dirty two-roomed 574 house in the middle of the village, and told the bridal party that they could wait there. She reluctantly went to see that food was cooked for them, and word was sent out to Atete, in the forest, to return quickly before the bridal party ate up the entire village. By nightfall there was no word, but the Pygmies decided that since they were being fed so well they would stay over and see what happened the next day. They sang for a while, but things had fallen rather flat and the singing did not last long. When the others went to sleep Akidinimba was crying once again.

The next day dragged its hot and dusty way along, and still there was no sign of the groom. The bridal party began to get as restive as the villagers, but still they decided to stay. Mulanga arrived to [593] try and persuade his young wife to return with him, but she refused, saying she was not going to miss her brother's wedding for any husband. He retorted that it looked as though there was not going to be any wedding, to which she replied, "In that case you will have [583] no bride." This is one of the difficulties of sister-exchange marriage, [586] for if one marriage breaks up and the woman returns to her home, the corresponding marriage also breaks up. Mulanga, alarmed at the 585 602 prospect, set about beating his sister, asking the unfortunate Akidi- 593 nimba why Atete did not come, as though it were her fault. He even went so far as to say that it was no wonder nobody wanted to

583 form, this means that a man must offer his sister for marriage to his intended wife's brother. However, since all families do not contain an even number of boys and girls, this principle may be extended to the larger family group, and a young man may offer a cousin, or an older man a niece, as his exchange partner.

• 586 Divorce is common and as informal as marriage. Usually it is the woman who makes the initial decision: she simply packs up her belongings and moves out. She will take her children with her and will be considered a member of her own parents' kinship group until she should remarry. This principle is also followed in the case of a widowed woman. A divorced woman's sons will remain with her until they are old enough to go hunting, when they will rejoin their father.

Although the original pair in an exchange marriage may have been drawn to each other by mutual affection, the same is not always the case with the exchange partners, whose union may not be of long duration. The really [583] unpleasant feature of exchange marriage is that if one union breaks up, the complementary marriage must also be dissolved; hence, if one couple cannot tolerate each other they will cause the separation of the other.

589 836 Because of the scarcity of women, a certain number of young men are forced to live out a painful bachelorhood for a number of years. Such bachelors usually, if not always, dally with girls whom they cannot marry because of kinship, or with other men's wives, and are a constant cause of trouble. However, if the family group 583 of a boy's father fails to get him a wife, 591 he may, in desperation, appeal to his 584 mother's family group to provide one. 602 If they do, he will go to live with his mother's people, although he is still technically a member of his father's

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